

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat: 846

This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat. (537) (539)

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly." (271)

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack). 844 (412) (278) (261) (515) (431)

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double). 753 846

Barrett's reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo. 845 352

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave). 854

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether. 533 (551)

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep. 861 868 538 517

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother. 597 (605) (736)

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'aw'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'aw'we and 881 178

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Parent- and Child-in-law Class

ka'yuk	parent-in-law
tipu'a'yali	my son-in-law
le'yec	my daughter-in-law

Sibling-in-law Class

ti.nla'rut	my wife's brother, husband's sister ²²
time.a'aci	my husband's brother ²²
tida'man	my sister's husband, if childless (see p. 313)
timaca'ca	my brother's wife (m. sp.)
tiya'vil	my brother's wife (w. sp.) ²²

Spouse Class

tipume'li	my husband
timlai'ya	my wife

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Kroeber's and my data agree closely, perhaps the only noteworthy differences occurring in the sibling-in-law class; for differences in possessive prefixes for the two paired reciprocals with common stem (e.g., tipa'pa, my father's father; lapa'pa, my son's child, m. sp.) are probably only of linguistic interest.

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Kroeber has pointed out the striking similarity of the Washo and the Paviotso terminologies, neither "classificatory" in the traditional sense. Distinguishing father's brother from father and mother's brother, mother's sister from father's sister and mother, they represent the type I have designated as Bifurcate Collateral.²² But in classing all cousins as siblings they exhibit one feature of a Generation system. Gifford's maps for grandparent and cousin terms²³ show our two tribes to be in both respects part of a very definite block. The same applies to the lack of Bifurcate Merging features. In other words, Washo and Paviotso terminologies are typical of a large Far Western area that is both positively and negatively different from the region east of the Rocky Mountains.

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Kroeber obtained no vocative terms for either spouse. This is intelligible from Bill's statement that husband and wife do not ordinarily address each other by the spouse term. Sometimes, but rarely, a wife may call her husband by the distinctive term, for example, tipume'li, ka'yuk, "Husband, come here"; and in a text giving a husband's imaginary speech to his wife he is made to address her as timlai'ya. They do not address each other by name.

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Some of the applications of the terms were worked out with the aid of brief genealogies.

²² Kroeber translates "man's sister's husband, wife's brother."

²³ Kroeber gives a descriptive term for "my child's father's brother."

²⁴ Also "husband's sister," according to Kroeber. According to Jack, there was no term for a woman's brother's wife.

²⁵ R. H. Lowie, A Note on Relationship Terminologies, AA 30:263-267, 1922.

²⁶ E. W. Gifford, Californian Kinship Terminologies, UC-PAAE 18:136, 163, 1922.

THE SOUL—SPOOKS

775 The souls of the dead go south (Jack, Dave). But according to some Washo
[787] they remain near the living and listen to them. Some people dream of the dead,
who appear as in life. Such a dreamer would report, "I saw So-and-so in a
[821] dream and talked with him." Whirlwinds are identified with the dead coming
by; all the dead travel. When a person goes to sleep by himself and hears some
noise striking the house, it is the ghost of a dead man; it makes a crack in the
house and looks at the inmate. This was the belief of an old man, shared by
some Washo and rejected by others. Dave, who quoted it, commented as fol-
lows: "He tells right, by God. I think he's right a little bit: dead people don't
go anywhere, they stay right here. . . . If there were any people alive in
Heaven, maybe they'd make a rope and come down, but no one does that."

[551] A dead person's name should not be uttered. Whoever broke this rule was
rebuked as follows: "He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!"

787 Some Indians see ghosts at night, that is, they see a good dress without a face and
775 are frightened. Once, of a night, Jack's son, when about two miles from Reno, thought
he heard some Paviotao singing and dancing. He saw women sitting on the ground, and
539 asked why they were not joining in the dance. They did not answer. Then he inquired
for the owner of a horse standing there. Still there was no answer. Then he struck a
match, and the women were gone. He went up to pet the horse, and it was no longer there.
Then he got frightened and quickly went to an Indian house.

[763] Once, in the old days, a Washo saw a strange figure hanging on the limb of a big tree
struck by lightning. The apparition was thin to the bone, curly-haired, with big eyes
and black face, wings, and legs with little feet, but no arms. The Indian went home.
That night he began to tremble; after another day and a half he died. Then the other
Indians were all afraid and did not want to look at that thing any more.

776 A species of evil water-beings was called *metasuv'e'*. The Washo were afraid
to meet them. Once, when walking in the sand around Lake Tahoe, Dave saw
the tracks of one. These beings would travel about a little, always along the
shore, at night, then go back into the Lake again. They made the sound of
babies at night; the Indians would hear them. They live in a house under the
water, possibly twenty feet below the surface. Men and women both live there.
They do not like Indians; the Washo avoid them and never dream of them.
A Washo would be terrified, paralyzed "a little bit," bleed from the nose, and
fall sick if he saw one of these beings. Judging from their tracks, their feet
are only the length of a little baby's.

776 Once, a Washo was fishing in the Lake with a line and reel, when the line got caught
539 at the bottom. He thought it was a snake, but it was a *metasuv'e'* pulling the line down.
He was pretty strong. After a while he let go, and the line got slack. There was a tuft
of hair on the point of the hook. The Indian was paralyzed and fell down unconscious
in his boat for possibly an hour. There was no wind. At last he woke up terrified and
made for home. He cut off the hook and line with the hair, and threw them back into the
water. He told his wife and children about his experience. For a week after that the
fish would not bite. All the Washo were afraid. About half a mile from shore there is a
spring; that is where these water-beings probably come from. Their hair reaches down to
the knee.

764 [P. 378, B] When the husband of one
 768 of my informants died,
 178 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary

house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake Tahoe. When she returned to Dressalerville her two sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their father's possessions. In deference to their mother's rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dressalerville an Indian of about forty put the torch to the house in which his mother and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied since their deaths. While the house burned no effort was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and summoned the fire department, but the Indians refused to tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom said that the sight of the house simply made the man sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were helping God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the deceased.

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764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they immediately wash their faces and hands. They would not feel safe in handling food or children until this ritual had been carried out.

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 783 The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could elude these guards, they were sometimes able to recover the spirit of a recently dead person and return it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my informant once visited the land of the dead and reported that there were lots of Indians there playing games and having a good time. If murder victims were present they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the killers were segregated and were not having a good time.

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Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly used in life, or are not properly honored after death, or have not been given the things they wanted when buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To prevent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and, when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the difficulties encountered by government agents when pine-nut lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

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[821] Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirlwinds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid looking at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teübčyū (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teübčyū for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teübčyū) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but they are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing; some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart

(1941, 413-14).

753 Ghosts are the second of the two culture elements associated with the
 775 fear configuration. When a person dies, his spirit goes east under the sun.
 However, the spirit of the dead person may not always depart, but may remain
 in the vicinity to cause sickness for a living relative. The ghost "travels" on
 some bit of his property that was not destroyed at the funeral but remained in
 the possession of a relative. In the seven cases and one general statement we
 have recorded of illness caused by ghosts, the ghost has been a relative of his
 victim.

753 All the encounters with ghosts reported by informants were in dreams.
 775 Sometimes the ghosts were seen, but more often they seemed to exert their
 787 influence without showing themselves to the victim. Of the seven cases of ill-
 ness caused by ghosts, one of the victims saw the ghost in a dream, two others
 apparently did not, and there is no information for the other four. However,
 if a ghost is involved in illness, it will be identified by the shaman in the cur-
 ing ceremony.

Lowie recorded several examples of people seeing ghosts while awake.
 One man once heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw some women
 sitting on the ground, not dancing. He spoke to them; they did not answer.
 He spoke to the owner of a horse standing nearby, and again received no an-
 swer. Then everyone vanished. The Washo was frightened and went to an
 Indian house. Another man saw two Indians approaching him. He sat down
 under a tree and waited for them to reach him, but they never did. "It was the
 755 Devil... I don't know whether these are dead people or what." He became ill
 but went to a spring, bathed, and recovered. In a third case, two Indians met
 half a dozen dead people who seemed to be alive. They spoke to these beings
 but received no answer. The ghosts sat around a fire cooking squirrels; but
 because they were dead, they neither spoke nor drank water. The Washo be-
 came alarmed and went away (Lowie, 1939, 322-3). Particularly noteworthy
 in these accounts is the fact that people saw ghosts who were not relatives
 and in one case the man became ill because of it.

715 Whirlwinds are thought to contain ghosts (Stewart, 1941, 415; Lowie,
 1939, 322). Holbrook says that when a gust of hot air hits someone, people
 321 say a dead person has passed by. Lowie (1939, 322) reports that a dead per-
 551 son's name should not be uttered. "Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as
 follows: 'He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!'"

Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in front of the deceased's close relatives.

Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result.

"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse as an offering to the spirit to make it content to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.'